

# ■ Asia in America: AN INTRODUCTION

*America has always been a place of ethnic diversity. However, since the 1950s and especially after changes in immigration laws in 1965, the range of people joining the cultural mosaic has grown at an astounding rate. The United States boasts significant numbers of people from well over 100 countries. The census rolls and demographic makeup of school districts reflect this increase in diverse people, with the percentage of the diverse population climbing toward 50 percent of the total population and literally dozens of languages being spoken at some schools in urban areas.*

One region of the world that contributes heavily to the nation's increasing diversity is Asia. As long as there has been a "new world," Asia and its people have been involved in its development. Among the earliest travelers to the Americas were people of Asian descent. While Europe and Africa provided the larger percentage of the nation's early immigrants, Asia and the Pacific Islands have contributed to the North American experience since the late 1500s. The Asian and North American continents are linked through their people and their roles in the Age of Exploration. When European explorers searching for quicker routes to India and other Asian markets found themselves in North America, they encountered descendants of earlier migrations from the Asian continent.<sup>1</sup> As the Western world was seeking new ways to reach Asia, Asia was already exploring the West.<sup>2</sup>

The desire for wealth, trade, and land starting in the 15th century led several European nations to the seas in search of new opportunities. Regions of Asia and Africa were the focus of early imperial endeavors. India was an area of commercial interest for centuries, providing much of the impetus for transoceanic voyages. The technological innovations of the Chinese (medicinal herbs and building material, such as "rammed earth") and the various textile

and mineral resources of the Asian continent and the surrounding island nations were chronicled in the tales of Marco Polo and by travelers along the trade routes that stretched from Venice to Xian. Eventually, attempts to find shorter routes to Asian trading depots and new markets brought ships to the Western Hemisphere and the New World. Spain saw the strategic importance of the Pacific Islands upon landing in the Philippines in 1521 and establishing a permanent settlement in 1565.<sup>3</sup> Beginning in the 16th century, European explorers and settlers embarked on expeditions to the nascent shores of the North American continent to develop colonies for economic exploitation.

Sailors from the Philippines and China are reported to have sailed with Spanish galleons along the routes between Manila and Spanish ports in Louisiana, California, Mexico, and Panama. Filipinos were among the landing party at Morro Bay, California, with Pedro de Unamuno in 1587.<sup>4</sup> Chinese sailors were employed in the shipping trades in New England and the Pacific Northwest in the 1800s. Asian immigrants participated in the development of the western United States. Chinese workers helped to create the transcontinental railroad and were instrumental in linking the western spur of the Central Pacific railroad across extremely treacherous terrain. Asian Indians, Japanese, and Chinese immigrants labored in lumber camps in the West during the mid-to-late 19th century. Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese worked in the agricultural industries in Hawaii and California.

■ The story of Chinese labor in the completion of the transcontinental railroad is a critical one in our understanding of westward expansion. The North Pacific Coast Railroad employed Chinese laborers, pictured in 1898, as section hands in Corte Madera.

Courtesy of the California Historical Society



Courtesy of the Alvarado Project



■ The Filipino Varsity Four was a musical group comprised of Filipino college students, known as *pensionados*, sponsored by the Federal Government to study in the United States.



The term, “Asian American” emerged in the 1960s, fueled by the same civil rights issues driving other minority groups to seek equal representation within American society. Asian American students no longer wanted to be called Asiatic or Oriental, but wanted a phrase that represented their ethnic heritage and their American roots. People of Asian descent engaged the political and educational establishment in the same manner as young African Americans and Hispanic Americans. In 1968, San Francisco State College, now San Francisco State University, and the University of California at Berkeley were the first institutions of higher education to offer Asian American Studies programs. This period also coincides with the lifting of numerical quotas for ethnic immigrants with the 1965 amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

American culture is filled with Asian cultural legacies. To cite a few, Japanese horticultural techniques influence our diets and physical landscape. Chinese life-saving practices, developed in the 18th century, have become universalized and are common practice for shipping and sailing. Practices regarding our physical and spiritual well-being are infused with pan-Asian cultural aspects, from Buddhism to martial arts and yoga. Japanese architectural aesthetics influenced Frank Lloyd Wright’s Prairie style. A Filipino immigrant, Pedro Flores, brought a standard bearer of popular culture, the yo-yo and its subsequent popularity, to the United States. Words of Asian origin color our language. The term boondocks, for instance, is derived from the Tagalog term “bundok” meaning mountain, but in American usage it describes a hinterland or remote backcountry. It entered the English language during the Philippine-American War.

This document provides an overview of the influence of Asian heritage on the cultural landscape of the United States. Using National Park Service resources, it offers a summary of scholarship on Asian heritage in America, provides examples of Asian heritage that have been identified in National Park Service programs, presents examples of interpretation of Asian cultures at historic sites, includes a select listing of bibliographic references, and lists Asian sites and properties that the National Park Service cultural resources programs have recognized and interpreted. This study by no means represents an exhaustive exploration of the topic. It serves as an introduction to the topic of Asian ethnicity in the United States and how it manifests itself in the nation’s cultural resources.

### Who are “Asians?”

“Asians” come from the areas of southern, central, and eastern Asia, and from islands that lie within the Pacific Rim. This region is bordered by Russia to the north, and by Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan to the west. To the southwest, it is bordered by the Indian Ocean and to the east, the Pacific Ocean. People from China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, India, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Brunei fall under the category of “Asian.”<sup>5</sup> Groups from the Pacific Islands—such as Hawaii, the Marshall Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Mariana Islands—represent a related group. Some institutions link Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Others, such as the U.S. Census Bureau, treat them as separate entities.





■ The Chee Kong Tong House, pictured in 1966, was a meeting place for Chinese from the same district living in Maui.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey

Through the Asian diaspora, their communities can be found throughout the world. Asian communities extend across the Pacific Ocean; through the Pacific Islands and Australia; into Canada, Mexico, and the United States; through Central America and the Caribbean Islands, in places such as Trinidad and Tobago; and into South America, in Peru and Brazil. Korean communities exist in Japan, Chinese communities exist in Taiwan, and Asian Indian communities are located in South Africa and Fiji. Vietnamese communities exist in Australia; roughly one million Japanese immigrated to Brazil during the 1920s; Chinese communities have been long established in Jamaica, Cuba, and Peru.

The Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, and Asian Indians were among the earliest to immigrate in significant numbers and constitute the largest Asian groups that settled in the United States. These five Asian immigrant groups shaped the cultural landscape in California, Washington, Hawaii, and in major metropolitan areas like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. In particular, Hawaii is a key site of diaspora for Asian groups. As late as 1970, 50 percent of the Asian American population was in Hawaii. According to census data, 25 percent of the counties in the nation with Asian Americans as the majority are in Hawaii and 68 percent of the population of Honolulu is of Asian descent.<sup>6</sup>

■ A detail of the Chee Kong Tong House's porch in 1966 displays the Chinese influence on its construction.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey





■ Located in Falls Church, VA, the Eden Center, shown in 2003, with its restaurants and specialty shops serves as a hub of activity for the local Vietnamese community.

Courtesy of Marcia Axtmann Smith

Since 1975 and the fall of Saigon, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians have arrived in increasing numbers. The Vietnamese, in particular, have raised the number of Asian-descended people and altered the landscape of where Asian Americans settle. Whereas California is still the primary place of settlement for all Asian groups in America; Texas, not Hawaii, is the second choice for Vietnamese and Laotians. Cambodians carved out an identity in Massachusetts, and the Hmong community gathered in Minnesota.<sup>7</sup> Smaller Asian immigrant groups, such as Thais and Indonesians, are becoming better recognized. These developments changed the dynamic in Asian American communities, where the older communities formerly dominated much of the debate about people of Asian descent in America.

### **The AAPI Population in the United States**

As of the 2000 Census, the Asian American/Pacific Islander population (AAPI) in the United States numbered 12 million people, or 4.3% of the total population. The Asian population has grown at a faster rate than the total population—up 48% since the last census as compared with 13% for the general population.<sup>8</sup> Recent immigration patterns have altered the picture of Asian peoples in the United States. The largest groups are Chinese at 2.3 million, Filipinos at 2.1 million, Asian Indians at 1.9 million, Koreans at 1.3 million, and Vietnamese at 1.2 million. The Japanese, formerly one of the five most populous ethnicities, are now sixth at 1.1 million.<sup>9</sup> Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders number 874,000 people. The six largest Asian ethnic groups make up 83% of the total Asian-American/Pacific Islander population.<sup>10</sup>

The place of Pacific Islanders in the Asian American mosaic has been debated. As past and present American territories, the Pacific Islands fall into an ambiguous category that is neither foreign nor American. The state of Hawaii represents the dichotomy of Pacific Islanders. Its status as a state allows it a voice beyond that of the territories. Hawaii presents very much a different view of “America,” one where the syncretic pan-Asian culture is a visible part of the cultural landscape and contributes to its sense of place.

### **Asian Presence in America**

According to William S. Bernard, professor emeritus of sociology at Brooklyn College, immigration to the Americas is divided into five periods: the Colonial Period (1607-1775), with Asian settlements reported as early as 1765<sup>11</sup>; the Open Door Period (1776-1881),



■ Prohibitions on immigration forced Chinese and other Asians to resort to smuggling themselves across the Mexican border into the U.S. This ca. 1921 photograph of a smuggling buggy was used as evidence in a federal case against individuals illegally assisting Chinese migrants.

Courtesy of the National Archives  
Records Administration

when Asians arrived in the new nation, eager to stake a claim to the country's wealth and prosperity; the Regulation Period (1882-1916), where concerns over Asian assimilation to American culture led to legislated discrimination against Asians; the Restriction Period (1917-1964), which saw housing covenants and other restrictions against Asian groups become prevalent; and the Liberalization Period (1965-present), with the removal of quotas and legal impediments to Asian immigration and the beginning of the process of greater assimilation of Asians into American culture.<sup>12</sup>

As with many immigrant groups, the initial wave of Asian immigrants arrived in the United States to fulfill the need for labor. Sugar masters were brought to Hawaii in the 1830s and Chinese sailors and peddlers are reported in New York around the same time.<sup>13</sup> Later, Chinese were brought to Hawaii to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations. Thus began a pattern of United States importation of Asians to fulfill labor needs throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Workers were recruited, primarily from districts in the Guangdong province of southern China, to Hawaii and later California. Districts like Sam Yup and Sze Yap have sizable populations in North America and formed associations to support fellow migrants.

The discovery of gold in California attracted the majority of early Chinese immigrants to the United States. Chinese miners spread throughout California, Nevada, Oregon, Montana, and Idaho, and planned to earn money and return to their home province.<sup>14</sup> Most never became rich or returned home. Laws and taxes making mining for Chinese cost-prohibitive, combined with physical coercion, ensured that most would never achieve the promise of *gum saan* or "Gold Mountain."<sup>15</sup> As mining became less lucrative, Chinese immigrants explored other opportunities. Thousands worked on the Central Pacific portion of the transcontinental railroad, along with thousands more recruited from China. Others became merchants, catering to the tastes of the growing Chinese communities.

Migrant farm labor, lumber mills, and logging camps offered other opportunities. Chinese sailors contributed to the shipping trade in New England and Chinese junks harvested shrimp out of San Francisco Bay. However, western states viewed the immigrants as competitors for jobs and for land, and began legislating Chinese to the margins of society. More and more laws designed to curtail the



■ Chinese benevolent societies, made up of people from the same province or speaking the same dialect, attended to matters when family was not present, such as the burial service of High Lee, 1891, in Deadwood, SD.

Courtesy of John C. H. Grabill Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

influx of Chinese eventually led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.<sup>16</sup> But the need for labor to build the country only increased and other groups were sought.

Japanese immigrants first arrived in America between 1868 and 1869 when a group of businessmen spirited out 100 Japanese to perform agricultural labor in Hawaii, Guam, and California.<sup>17</sup> Subsequent waves of Japanese migrated from a small number of prefectures in the southwest of Japan. Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Okayama, Wakayama prefectures on Honshu Island, and Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Nagasaki, Saga, and Kagoshima prefectures on Kyushu Island provided the overwhelming majority of Japanese migrants to the Asian diaspora.<sup>18</sup> Arriving as contract workers in the wake of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Japanese worked the sugar industry until the Organic Act of 1900 made the immigration of foreign nationals as contract labor illegal. Railroads, lumber mills, and farms in California and Washington formed the next stage of settlement for Japanese immigrants. However, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 further curtailed their immigration.

Many Japanese immigrants carved out a niche in agriculture and horticulture. Early Japanese immigrants to California arrived with mulberry trees, silkworm cocoons, tea plants, bamboo roots, and other products, and became heavily involved with the burgeoning agricultural labor movement during the 1920s and 1930s.

World War II changed the dynamic of relationships between Japanese Americans and the rest of the nation. Executive Order 9066 paved the way for the removal of all persons of Japanese descent from western coastal areas to internment camps in the interior of the country. This policy effectively eliminated many of the Japantowns and other Japanese enclaves that sustained Japanese and Japanese American culture. These areas would never fully recover. Later, postwar urban renewal and highway act projects would finish what internment had begun by putting roads and highways through Japanese American neighborhoods (and other minority neighborhoods), further disintegrating the cultural essence of those places.<sup>19</sup> Many Japanese chose either to relocate to the Midwest or move to the East Coast.

Korean immigration to the United States began in 1903, with the arrival of a group of Korean men to Honolulu, Hawaii, to perform agricultural work on the plantations.<sup>20</sup> Similar to the Chinese and

Japanese before them, early Korean communities were primarily bachelor enclaves, whose members were intent on earning enough money to return home as wealthy men. Unlike their predecessors, Koreans came from no particular region in Korea. Those present in the country continued agricultural work on sugar plantations in Hawaii and rice cultivation in California. Others found work as laborers in lumber yards in Washington state and in canneries in Alaska. Several became merchants and opened stores. Christian Korean congregations were the earliest of institutions to be formed, along with language schools.<sup>21</sup>

The attempts at exploitation of Korean immigrants in the American labor markets were curtailed due to Japanese opposition.<sup>22</sup> Combined with the restrictive quota on the immigrants of Asian origin due to the Immigration Act of 1924, it would be 40 years before Korean immigration would begin in earnest. Korean immigration increased after World War II, when some 6,000 women entered the country as brides of United States military men.<sup>23</sup> The 1965 amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act encouraged further growth. Enclaves developed throughout the nation, primarily in New York, Los Angeles, and Seattle.

Although small groups of Asian Indians first arrived on the shores of the United States in the 1790s, Asian Indian immigration to North America began in the 1890s.<sup>24</sup> Asian Indians emigrated initially to British Columbia. This was curtailed by a series of anti-Asian legislation in Canada beginning in 1900. They began entering the United States through Bellingham, Washington. Asian Indians briefly filled the void left by the Japanese in 1907 with the signing of the Gentleman's Agreement until passage of the Barred Zone Act of 1917. Although some arrived illegally through Mexico, their numbers did not increase substantially until the 1970s.

Early Asian Indian migrants were primarily from the Punjab region and of Sikh faith, but many were Muslim and Hindu as well. As with other Asian groups, the first waves of Asian Indians fulfilled unskilled labor needs, settling in California, Washington, and Oregon. However, since 1965, Asian Indian immigration increased and included a sizable percentage of highly skilled professionals, particularly in the information technology and medical fields.<sup>25</sup> Asian Indian communities are found in Maryland, Louisiana, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.

■ Over 1 million people of Asian descent entered the United States through the Angel Island Immigration Center in San Francisco Bay. Asian Indians, such as these pictured ca. 1916, were among them.

Courtesy of California State Department of Parks and Recreation



Already a presence in the United States, the immigration of Filipinos increased sharply to fulfill the need for workers in Hawaii starting in 1906. The unique status of the Philippines as an American territory allowed Filipinos to travel on American passports, making them attractive to the Hawaiian agricultural industry after the passing of the Organic Act of 1900. Filipino agricultural workers were heavily involved with the growing labor union movement, and cooperated with Japanese and Hispanic workers on strikes in Hawaii and California. In 1930, the Agricultural Workers League was formed in California to provide Pinoy—the name for Filipinos in the United States—workers with the same bargaining power as European American workers.<sup>26</sup> During the 1960s, Filipino workers and unions supported César Chávez, the celebrated labor organizer, and participated in the United Farm Workers of America demonstrations in Delano, California.

A former colony of Spain and United States, the Philippines has a culture more hybridized than other Asian cultures. Although Philippine independence from United States control occurred on July 4, 1946, American cultural influence still exists. Because of their hybrid culture, Filipinos find themselves considered neither American nor Asian.<sup>27</sup> Today, Filipinos are one of the fastest growing Asian groups in America.

Pacific Islanders are indigenous peoples from the island chains that spread from Australia to Hawaii. The Pacific Islands (as related to the United States) include the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, American Samoa, Hawaii, the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia. Each group of islands existed as independent

states or loose federations of culturally connected peoples prior to the arrival of Europeans, starting with Ferdinand Magellan in 1521.<sup>28</sup> These encounters, which eventually led Asians to the North American continent, spread multiple Asian peoples throughout the Pacific Islands. Hawaii, in particular, has been a site of diaspora for Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and other Pacific Islanders.

While immigration to and among the Pacific Islands dates back millennia, emigration to the mainland is of a shorter duration.<sup>29</sup> Three hundred Hawaiian contract workers were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver in Washington State during the mid-19th century. A village of diverse peoples within the trading post walls became known as Kanaka Village, a Hawaiian term for "person".<sup>30</sup> Beyond this, however, there is little research on Pacific Islander migration, although American Samoan and Chamorro people have immigrated to the mainland in traceable numbers since the mid-20th century.<sup>31</sup> Aspects of Hawaiian culture are recognizable within American cultural heritage, but it too, suffers from the distance between the islands and the mainland. How to define the place of Pacific Islanders within Asian American culture is a subject of ongoing discussion among scholars and preservation professionals.

■ The Vedanta Society provided a place of worship for followers of Vedantism, a branch of Hinduism, in San Francisco, CA. It is a rare example of Hindu architectural style in the United States.

[No photographer or date in file] Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey



### Asian Influence on the Cultural Landscape

Throughout the United States, Asian groups have made an impact on the cultural landscape. Many buildings, landscapes, archeological resources, and much material culture found in the United States today reflect cultural connections to Asia. The multiple Asian groups in the Hawaiian Islands developed agricultural practices that influenced the growth of sugar, pineapple, and rice. Ethnic enclaves in many areas bore marks of the groups through businesses and organizations, aesthetic choices, signage, and cultural arts.

Houses of worship are prime examples of Asian-influenced buildings. The institutions associated with the faiths offer insights into cultural practices that connect back to the respective places of origin. Buddhism, for example, reportedly arrived with Japanese immigrants in the 1870s. Buddhist temples, such as the Kawaiiloa Temple in Hawaii, served not only their community's spiritual needs, but they functioned equally well as schools and places of social gathering. Shinto shrines, with their unique building techniques, and Hindu gudwaras served as boarding houses as well as houses of worship for Asian Indian travelers. Christian churches offered spiritual support for Asian communities. The Chinese Community Church in Washington, DC, served as a spiritual guide

■ The Friendship Archway is a gift to the Chinese American community in Washington, DC, from the People's Republic of China. The archway, shown in 2003, was assembled using an architectural technique called *dou gong*, which uses carved wood fitting together like a jigsaw puzzle without nails or screws.

Courtesy of Marcia Axtmann Smith



■ The Southeast Asian Water Festival draws thousands of spectators each year to the Merrimack River. The flyer from the 2002 festival is an example of how Cambodian community has interwoven itself into the fabric of the city of Lowell, MA.

Courtesy of Lowell National Historic Park



for nearly 40 years, and still serves the Chinatown community as a place of gathering. Other churches and places of worship around the country may possess cultural heritage associations. For example, Korean community churches, particularly in places such as Hawaii, serve a spiritual and secular role in Korean communities, providing a social framework as well as being a receptacle for cultural traditions.<sup>32</sup>

For much of the 20th century, ethnic enclaves offered tangible evidence of the legal and economic impediments to broader housing choices for Asians. Brightly colored buildings, adorned with Chinese calligraphic signage, animalized columns, and statues are immediately recognizable as features of a Chinatown. The spirit of Chinese heritage is evident, whether the buildings are Queen Anne row houses or warehouses. Little Tokyos, Koreatowns, Chinatowns, and Little Manilas represent a visual affirmation of place for the Asian immigrant communities. Within many of the enclaves are language schools and community centers.

Lowell National Historical Park in Massachusetts is known for its connection to the rise of the industrial age in the United States. However, an emerging Cambodian community has become one of the park's primary users. The park management has encouraged a partnership between the community and the park, giving the park significance beyond its original association with the 19th-century Industrial Revolution. Lowell provides an example of a new community attaching its own cultural and historic significance to an established historic site.

The Presidio of San Francisco has a different and more difficult historic attachment for Japanese Americans. When the United States entered World War II, its government ordered the removal of people of Japanese ancestry from western coastal regions. At the same time, the Army recruited second-generation Japanese Americans, or *nisei*, to teach Japanese to military personnel and provide support in deciphering documents and interrogating captives. The resulting Military Intelligence Service Language School was housed at the Presidio in Building 640. Through its association with the Presidio's military history, this bittersweet chapter of America's recent past is highlighted and examined.

■ The map shows the various internment camps and assembly centers throughout the country associated with the internment of people of Japanese descent during World War II. These camps housed Japanese Americans who were forcibly removed from the West Coast of the United States.

Courtesy of the National Park Service



### **The “Invisibility” of Asian Cultural Heritage in America**

The remarkable length of duration of Asian ethnicities in the United States has not translated into visibility in American culture comparable to European groups. Members of the community and publications have underscored this lack of presence.<sup>33</sup> This “invisibility” is not limited to Asian ethnicities, but is particularly relevant to any discussion of the impact of Asian cultural heritage on the built environment.

While Asian influences permeate American culture, they have often been overlooked by the nation at large. The nation’s historically acknowledged practices of exclusion, segregation, and discrimination kept the population small and segregated relative to the rest of the population. Immigration quotas and legal impediments to citizenship prevented a critical mass of Asian people from gaining a greater foothold. Successive Asian groups were prevented from owning property due to local and state legislation. Law against intermarriage and the prohibition of most Asian female immigration during the early part of the 20th century ensured bachelor communities with a low rate of population increase.<sup>34</sup> These barriers curtailed the intercultural melding of heritage that occurred with European communities.

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The experiences of people within an environment are what define space for individuals or groups. Ethnic enclaves, while obscuring the groups from the larger public sphere, reinforce an intracultural experience distinct to those locations and individuals.<sup>35</sup> Locations of former ethnic enclaves are equally important for the residents. Looking at places of cultural memory among Asian Americans requires a careful interpretation of space, defined as much by what is gone as by what exists, and by who claims it rather than by who controls it. Asian American sites of cultural memory frequently bear no markers or may represent contested space within rural and urban landscapes.<sup>36</sup> As more of these places disappear and their residents pass away, those memories fade from the public consciousness and this part of American culture remains invisible.

Other factors, such as cultural differences, contribute to the lack of a physical presence of Asian heritage in the American built environment. For example, some Asian cultures do not place the same importance on older structures as Western preservationists. In Japan, Shinto shrines are ritualistically and periodically rebuilt to receive blessings from the gods. No one would question the significance of the religious site in Japan, but it is difficult to make

a case for integrity in considering their eligibility for local, state, or federal historic registers in the United States. These cultural differences have created difficulties in documenting and preserving some places of Asian heritage because they do not meet official designation criteria.<sup>37</sup> National Register-eligible archeological sites related to Asian heritage do exist such as the Chinese sites in the Warren Mining District near McCall, Idaho, or the Takahashi Farm outside of Sacramento, California. These sites contain material and structural remnants of Asian heritage on the built environment of the nation.<sup>38</sup>

Recent studies of ethnic minorities in the United States suggest that Asian groups possess a strong sense of place.<sup>39</sup> Diverse people such as Asian Americans are often deemed to be “foreign” no matter how many generations lived in America.<sup>40</sup> This belief affects how preservation professionals view and interpret historic places that may have multiple histories to present. An examination of the historic record, notably South Asians in port cities throughout the East Coast during the 18th century, the roles of Chinese and Japanese settlers in the development of the American West, and the presence of Filipinos in Louisiana challenges these notions.<sup>41</sup>

### **Scholarship on Asians in America**

Much of the scholarly writing on Asian Americans addresses the individual groups. Early studies included detailed histories on the Chinese and Japanese in chronicling the development of their communities. Immigration and assimilation studies dominated the early discussions, frequently led by scholars outside of the Asian American community. Moreover, there were few, if any, specialists in the field of Asian American cultural studies. The first publication on an Asian American ethnic group written by a native-born member of the community was *The Chinese in the United States of America*, by sociologist Rose Hum Lee in 1960.<sup>42</sup> She was concerned with the loss of Chinese culture among American-born Chinese.

Examinations of the significance of place focus on enclaves: Chinatowns, Little Saigons, and Japantowns or *nihonmachi*. Architect and historian Christopher Yip examined Chinatowns in his studies of the town of Locke, a farming community in the Sacramento Valley,<sup>43</sup> and viewed the enclaves as expressions of traditional culture on the landscape. Gail Dubrow documented Japanese immigrants throughout Washington State. Her most recent work, *Sento at Sixth and Main* (with Donna Graves),

highlights important sites of West Coast Japanese American heritage.<sup>44</sup>

Another important thread in contemporary scholarship on Asian Americans is the role that legal and de facto discrimination played. Laws dating from 1790 served to legislate Asian minorities out of the mainstream by limiting their access to American institutions and excluding them from citizenship. Asian communities opposed these laws, leaving a written record of their struggle for equality. Documentary evidence that includes court records, newspapers, and local, state, and federal legislation, provides rich resources for scholars. Franklin Odo's *The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience* contains transcripts of discriminatory legislation and the judicial battles waged against it.<sup>45</sup>

Viewing Asian American culture through the lens of social justice and systematic disenfranchisement became a focus of academic study starting in the early 20th century. Mary Roberts Coolidge's *Chinese Immigration*, published in 1909, addressed the issues underlying labor and discrimination against Chinese, culminating with her "California thesis," which points to volatile contentions over wealth and power in California as the root of the government's discriminatory legislation.<sup>46</sup> Hers is one of the earliest examinations of the matter and is considered to be a seminal text on labor and immigration history.

Historian Sucheng Chan wrote about Chinese communities in California as well as the larger Asian American population. Her *Asian Americans: An Interpretative History* is a cornerstone in Asian American scholarship, and *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*, published in 1991, looks at the impact of Chinese immigrants on California's rapidly developing agribusiness sector at the turn of the 20th century.<sup>47</sup> Public historian Him Mark Lai extensively researched the history of the Chinese in America. Based on his research of Chinese language newspapers and communities around the country, *A History Reclaimed: An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Language Materials on the Chinese of America* was published in 1986.<sup>48</sup>

Historian Gary Okihiro looked at various Asian American histories, most recently in *The Columbia Guide to Asian American History* published in 2001.<sup>49</sup> The text summarizes the range of historical topics and areas of scholarship affecting the on-going interpretation of the history Asians in America. A professor of Asian American

studies, Hyung-Chan Kim compiled the *Dictionary of Asian American History* in 1986 as a research resource on Asians in America.<sup>50</sup> An anthropologist, Priscilla Wegars, studied and collected early Asian immigrant material culture throughout the western United States in publications such as the 1993 *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese*.<sup>51</sup> All of these underscore the body of scholarship on Asian American culture.

### Is There a Pan-Asian Culture?

The presence of a pan-Asian culture in the United States is a topic of debate. According to some scholars, Asian American pan-ethnicity began with the administrative lumping of Asian ethnicities into one category. The rationale was based on an administrative convenience rather than a cultural or linguistic connection. However, the groups saw the political benefit of working together, culminating in the coining of the term “Asian American” in the 1960s.

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Organizations and institutions have used the rubric of pan-Asianism as a political and economic rallying point in America, but Asian ethnic groups outside of the United States may not view themselves as a single bloc. The continued influx of new Asian groups tests the ability of the category to contain all those it claims to represent.

The distinction of “Asian” has been defined by the Federal Government for administrative purposes, such as census and other governmental records, and follows no particular pattern or known socio-political grouping.<sup>52</sup> The presumed commonalities among the various groups lie in physical characteristics and a rough geographic relation, not cultural bonds. There is no consistency even in this methodology. For example, although part of Asia, someone from Iran would have been considered white, rather than Asian, according to older census data. Now, the Middle East has its own category. Unlike Hispanic/Latino/Chicano Americans, who share many common cultural antecedents and may share a language or African Americans, many of whom share a common experience influenced by slavery and Jim Crow, the diversity of the Asian cultural experience in the United States creates difficulties in addressing these multiple ethnicities as a single entity.

The similarities within groups lie in the systematic estrangement of Asian ethnicities within American society. For decades, the battles for social justice in the United States have formed a common experience. Efforts to embrace the promise of America met with

the reality of exclusionary governmental policies. Asian Americans found themselves striving for rights and equality under the law, as individuals and as a group.

Continued and increased immigration of Asian ethnicities further alters the picture of pan-Asianism in America. The older native Asian communities have become more static, and more westernized. Fifth-generation Pinoy may not have the same concerns as the recent immigrant from the Philippines, for example.<sup>53</sup> The inherent differences between the various cultures become more pronounced, creating hybrid cultures that are constantly in flux. New Asian groups are incorporated into the greater Asian American population. Different Asian groups must develop relationships with one another and all of them must find a place of intersection with the greater American culture. The addition of each generation causes a redefining of Asian American culture.

An Asian American syncretism may be occurring. The latest census data indicate a large proportion of people of multiple Asian descents. Families blend heritages within the context of the ever-changing American culture. The global economy will only serve to encourage such melding. Hawaii, with its long-inclusive and blended society, represents the best example of pan-Asianism. However, its physical and cultural isolation from the contiguous United States marks it as an exception.

## **Conclusion**

Asian groups have made and continue to make an impact on the landscape of America. The impact of Asian contributions to the built environment in America has yet to be appreciated in its fullness, for much has been lost and even more has yet to be studied in depth. The surface of the topic has only been scratched and more research into the resources needs to take place. Documentation of enclaves and a greater sensitivity to ephemeral culture is needed, not just for Asian ethnicities, but also for all of the nation's diverse communities.

The role of early immigrant groups cannot be overstated, but the rising demographic figures indicate that Asian American culture is on the verge of changing dramatically. This issue of continuous enrichment of cultures is being raised as communities continue the process of commemorating their histories. New research is available, but more attention should be paid to the varieties of Asian American cultures, how they can be represented in historic places, and how these places can benefit national preservation efforts overall.

## ENDNOTES

1. There is a wealth of scholarship suggesting that people of Asian descent were the earliest arrivals in North America. These peoples migrated from Asia to North America over a prehistoric land bridge across the Bering Strait. Anthropological and genetic research indicates that three separate migrations from Asia may have taken place—the Amerind migration (before 10,000 B.C.), the Na-Dene migration (ca. 8,000 B.C.), and the Eskimo-Aleut migration (ca. 4,000 B.C.). Research also suggests that most North American Indians and all Indians of Central and South America are descendants from the first wave of migrants leaving Alaska after the Ice Age. Na-Dene migrants make up the coastal tribes of northwestern North America, such as the Tlingit and Haida. Apache and Navajo also descend from this migration. The Eskimo-Aleut migration settled the Arctic coastal regions with the ancestors of the modern Eskimo and Aleutian populations.  
  
This theory sits in contrast to several Indian traditions of a history on the North American continent dating back to time immemorial. For a sample of the information on the land bridge theory and alternate interpretations, see Ronald Carlisle, “Americans Before Columbus: Ice Age Origins”, *Ethnology Monographs* 12, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, 1988; A. L. Bryan, “New Evidence for the Pleistocene Peopling of the Americas,” Center for the Study of Early Man, University of Maine, 1986; M. H. Crawford, *The Origins of Native Americans: Evidence from Anthropological Genetics* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
2. Gavin Menzies postulates that ships of the Emperor Zhu Di circumnavigated the world from 1421-1423, arriving in the Americas 70 years before Columbus. During the 15th century, Chinese ships were sighted in ports of Eastern Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, which he cites as proof of the Chinese’s technological ability. While evidence of this pre-Columbian contact needs further study, some scholars accept that the possibility exists, due to the nautical technology and knowledge of Chinese sailors of the era. Gavin Menzies, *1421: The Year China Discovered the World* (New York: William Morrow/HarperCollins, 2003); “The Year China Discovered America: A Roundtable Discussion,” at the American Historical Association 118<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 10, 2004; Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Michael L. Bosworth, “The Rise and Fall of 15th Century Chinese Seapower”, from the Maritime History and Navigation Homepage, at <http://www.cronab.demon.co.uk/maritim.htm>; accessed October 14, 2004.
3. Earlier dates can be attributed for Spanish contact with the Philippines. Ferdinand Magellan made landfall on Cebu island in 1521. López de Villalobos, traveling from New Spain (Mexico) named the islands for the infant king, Philip, in 1542. See “Philippines” at the Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service at <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=23714>; accessed October 11, 2004.
4. Eloisa Gomez Borah, “Filipinos in Unamuno’s California Expedition” in *AMERASIA Journal* 21 no. 3 (Winter 1996): 175-183.
5. See Jessica S. Barnes and Claudette E. Bennett, eds., *The Asian Population: US Census 2000 Brief* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), 9, for a detailed listing of Asian groups enumerated in the United States.
6. See Barnes and Bennett, eds., *The Asian Population*, 8.
7. According to detailed census data found at the “Vietnamese Studies Internet Resource Center,” at <http://site.yahoo.com/vstudies/index.html>; accessed September 25, 2003.
8. This increase is partially due to the revised methodology used by the Census Bureau, which allows for more flexible definitions of ethnicity. Barnes and Bennett, eds., *The Asian Population*, 3.
9. Barnes and Bennett, *The Asian Population*, 9.
10. Elizabeth M. Grieco, *Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander Population: US Census 2000 Brief* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), 1.
11. The founding of the Manila Colony in St. Malo Bayou near New Orleans by Filipino sailors (a.k.a. Manila Men) has been a matter of academic discussion for some time, but most scholars put the date in the 1760s. This would make it the first Asian settlement in U.S. See

- Fred Cordova's discussion with Marina Espina in *Filipinos: The Forgotten Asian Americans* (Seattle: Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, 1983), 1-7. Eloisa Gomez Borah has developed a website dedicated to Filipino history which refers to Espina and her discussions on the Manila Men and the colony. See further, "Americans of Filipino Descent FAQ" at <http://personal.anderson.ucla.edu/eloisaborah/filfaq.htm#history>, accessed November 20, 2003.
12. See William S. Bernard, "Immigration: the History of U.S. Policy," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980), 486-495, referenced in Luciano Mangiafico, *Contemporary American Immigrants: Patterns of Filipino, Korean, and Chinese Settlement in the United States* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 4, note 2.
  13. Tabarah gives 1798 as the date of the first Chinese resident in Hawaii. See Ruth Tabrah, *Hawaii, A Bicentennial History* (New York [Nashville, TN]: W.W. Norton and Co. [American Association for State and Local History], 1980), 26. For the chronology of Asian history in Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretative History*. Twayne's Immigrant History of America Series (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 192-199.
  14. 50,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in California in 1852 compared with 200 in Hawaii. See Chan, *Asian Americans*, 28.
  15. The 1850 California Foreign Miners' Tax and other ordinances sought to eliminate the economic competition of Chinese miners. It also brought in a great deal of revenue to the state treasury. See Franklin Odo, ed., *The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 15.
  16. For this and all other federal legislation referenced, see the "List of Federal Legislation Related to Asian Groups in the United States" in the appendix of the publication.
  17. See Hilary F. Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii, 1868-1898* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University Press of California, 1953), 15-43.
  18. Japanese from certain prefectures were selected for their supposed agricultural acumen. See Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamato, and Raymond Y. Okamura, "The Japanese in California," in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey of California*, California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, at [http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/5views/5views.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views.htm), accessed January 14, 2004.
  19. Areas where the pre-World War II Japanese American population lived in San Francisco's Western Addition were destroyed to make way for the Geary Street Expressway. By 1960, 50 percent of the core of Japantown had been demolished. See *Nikkei Heritage* "San Francisco Japantown: the Prewar Era" 12, no. 3 (Summer 2000); *Nikkei Heritage* "Redevelopment and Urban Japantowns" 13, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2000); and "Japantown Historic Context Statement, Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, October 2003," 8.
  20. Several sources for this date. See In-Jin Yoon, "Koreans" in *Asian American Encyclopedia*, Volume 3, ed. Franklin Ng (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1995); Hyung-chan Kim, "Koreans" in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980), 601; Yo-Jun Yun, "Early History of Korean Immigration to America" in *The Korean Diaspora*, ed. Hyungchan Kim (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, Inc., 1977), 33-45.
  21. See Kim, "Koreans" in *Harvard Encyclopedia*, 604; Chan, *Asian Americans*, 15.
  22. Several nations had imperial designs on Korea during the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Japan began pressing Korea, which followed an isolationist policy similar to that of China, to develop a more advantageous political and economic relationship around 1868, as a part of Japan's more aggressive policy in the region. Japan's formal hegemony over Korea did not come to fruition until 1906, however by the early part of the 1900s, Japanese control was evident. Negotiations with the United States that led to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, which prevented Japanese laborers from immigrating to the U.S., consequently applied to Korea. See Yun, "Early History," in *Korean Diaspora*, 37-38.
  23. The War Brides Act of 1945 allowed Korean women to join their American military husbands in the United States. This began a trend of female-dominated Korean immigration to America. Between 1959 and 1971, 70 percent of Korean immigrants were female. See Odo, *Columbia Documentary*, 312-313; Kim, "Koreans," 606.

24. Reports dating to 1790 of a “Man from Madras” who stayed in Salem, Massachusetts, for roughly one year set the timeframe for an Asian Indian presence. The first Asian Indians were likely indentured servants of the British ship captains and traders prior to the 1790s. See Sucheta Mazumdar, “Asian Indians” in *Asian American Encyclopedia*, Volume 1, ed. Franklin Ng (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1995), 93-94; and Vishnu Sharma, “A History of Indian Americans” at the Indian Community Center website, [http://www.indiacc.org/site/Resources/Documents/article\\_ihd2004\\_sharma.pdf](http://www.indiacc.org/site/Resources/Documents/article_ihd2004_sharma.pdf); accessed July 27, 2004.
25. The Asian Indian population grew from 491 in 1899 to 1.9 million as of the 2000 census. The highly skilled nature of much of the Asian Indian group in the U.S. is partially attributed to the “brain drain” phenomenon—the exportation of intellectual manpower from developing nations to the United States that coincided with 1965 amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act. See Barnes and Bennett, *The Asian Population*, p. 9; Sharma, “A History of Indian Americans”; Parmatma Saran, *The Asian Indian Experience in the United States* (New Dehli, India: Vikas Press, 1985), 23.
26. Larry Salomon, “Movement History: Filipinos Build a Movement for Justice in the Asparagus Fields,” in *Third Force* 2, no. 4 (Oct. 31, 1994): 30. For more detailed discussion on Filipino labor unions, see Craig Scharlin and Linia V. Villanueva, *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement* (Los Angeles: UCLA Labor Center and the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1992).
27. “Often, other Asians don’t even consider Filipinos to be Asian,” noted journalist Victor Merina. See “Aspects of Americanization: Victor Merina” in Joann Faung Jean Lee, *Asian American Experiences in the United States: Oral Histories of First to Fourth Generation Americans from China, the Philippines, Japan, India, the Pacific Islands, Viet Nam, and Cambodia* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Press, 1991), 131.
28. The maritime trade related to Chinese hegemony, to include Japan, Korea and Malaysia, in the region predated European contact by hundreds of years. Yet, the story of the “discovery” of Pacific Islands begins with Magellan and ends with James Cook’s arrival in Hawaii between 1772 and 1775. See Ron Adams, “European Discovery or Multiple Discoveries” in Max Quanchi and Ron Adams, eds. *Culture Contact in the Pacific: Essays on Contact, Encounter, and Response* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 31-37; Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoffel, “Discovering Outsiders” in Donald Denoon, with Stewart Firth, Jocelyn Linnekin, Malama Meleisea, and Karen Nero, ed. *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 148-150.
29. Archeologically speaking, contact with the larger Pacific Islands began some 3,500 years ago, with travelers from Southeast Asia, more than likely from modern Taiwan, Malaysia, and Indonesia, to the Solomon Islands. Micronesia was settled between 2,000 and 2,500 years ago, and Hawaii, over 1,600 years ago. The Hawaiian and Samoan people are ancestors of Polynesian migrants to the islands. The Mariana Islands, which includes Guam and Saipan, is home to Chamorro culture, ancestors of those immigrants that settled the Solomon Islands. See Max Quanchi and Ron Adams, “Introduction” in *Culture Contact in the Pacific*, 8-10.
30. See “The Company Village,” pamphlet (Vancouver, WA: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, National Park Service, 2002); “The Village,” brochure (Vancouver, WA: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, National Park Service, 2002).
31. Statistics on Pacific Islander migration have only been kept since the 1980 census. See Bradd Shore, “Pacific Islanders” in *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Therstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980), 763-765.
32. See the discussion on the role of Christianity and Korean immigrants in Yun, “Early History”; Steven L. Austin, “The Role of Christianity in the Korean Migration to Hawaii, 1901-1913” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 2000), 13-23.
33. The lack of documented presence of Asians in American culture reflects the “racialization” of Asian ethnicities within a binary racial system of white and black. In the racialization model, this binary opposition served to define who was “white” as much as who was not. Scholarship suggests that the existing paradigm did not deal as well with other people of color. Just as laws

were being amended to allow for the legal inclusion of African Americans, whose cultural impact by 1870 in the United States has been documented, if not agreed upon, Asian ethnicities found themselves further excluded from American culture. Asians were defined as “inassimilable,” in addition to not being white or free, and could not become citizens. This idea and the subsequent actions taken against Asians and Asian Americans persisted until the middle of the 20th century, marginalizing Asian Americans and their culture, pushing them “out of sight” of the general public.

For discussions on racialization, see Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge Press, 1986). For more discussions on Asian Americans, race, and culture see Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), especially 172-173; Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 1-59; Frank Wu, *Yellow: Race Beyond Black and White* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

34. The various legislative actions against Asian groups are well documented. Asian immigrants were not allowed to become naturalized citizens of the United States. Since 1790, the criteria for admittance of Asian natives to the United States were much more restrictive than that for Anglo-European immigrants. Laws such as the 1924 National Origins Act, “set the parameters for desirable, less desirable, and undesirable ethnic and nationality groups,” according to Franklin Odo in *Columbia Documentary History*. Asian nationalities fell into the undesirable category, as evinced by the 100 Asians per year allowed to immigrate into the United States. These quotas persisted until 1965. Only a small percentage of those persons allowed to immigrate were women, due to the 1875 Page Law, reportedly intended to curtail prostitution. Some states had laws against the ownership of property by Asians, prohibiting marriage with European Americans, and limiting where they could live.

Elaborate means, such as the creation of fictitious relatives or “paper families” were necessary to gain entrance. Prohibitions on owning property were circumvented by placing property in the names of American-born

children when possible, or by secret arrangements with European Americans or other individuals. Odo, *Columbia Documentary History*, 128; see 12, 38 for reference to the Page Law; Chan, *Asian Americans*, 192-199.

35. See Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 8-18; and Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes in Public History* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1995).
36. In examining place in Los Angeles, Dolores Hayden addresses the Japantown on First Street, noting the attachment of the greater Japanese community to the area despite demographic changes. It was transformed from Japanese American to African American (Bronzeville) back to Japanese American due to relocation to internment camps. See Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 210-225, 240-247.
37. The National Register criteria for listing are intended to be broad and inclusive, but as the types of properties and cultural attributes expand, the flexibility is being tested. See National Register Bulletin, “Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties” and “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation;” see also Antoinette J. Lee, “Discovering Old Cultures in the New World: The Role of Ethnicity,” in *The American Mosaic: Preserving A Nation's Heritage*, eds. Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette J. Lee (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1987), 180-205.
38. The Chinese sites at the Warren Historic Mining District in Idaho provide a physical record of Chinese immigrants and cultural practices in the American West. See National Register of Historic Places, *Chinese Sites in the Warren Mining District Multiple Property Survey, Idaho County, Idaho, National Register #1696100*. The Takahasi Farm represents the only archeological site associated with Japanese family farms studied in the state of California. See John Kelley, Judith Marvin, Christian Gerike, and Neal Kaptain, “Historic Property Survey Report (Positive) for the Sierra College Boulevard/ Interstate 80 Interchange Improvements, City of Rocklin Placer County, California,” LSA Associates, Inc., Point Richmond, California, October 2002.

39. See Ned Kaufman, "Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment: Phase 1," draft, April 8, 2004, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service; Hayden, *Power of Place*, 82-96.
40. Lisa Lowe argues that European Americans make a self-evident claim of citizenship, which had to be legally bestowed on the diverse peoples in the country. Prior to the Naturalization Act of 1790, citizenship was determined by the states. These laws evolved from British Colonial codes, specifically those of 1740 and 1761. See Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*, 11-14; Reed Ueda, "Naturalization and Citizenship," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980), 734-748.
41. See Sharma, "A History of Indian Americans"; Espina's study of Filipinos in the U.S., *Filipinos*.
42. Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960).
43. Christopher Yip, "A Chinatown of Gold Mountain," in *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture in the Western United States*, ed. Thomas Carter (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 153-172; "Chinese," in *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America*, ed. Dell Upton (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1986), 106-112.
44. Gail Dubrow with Donna Graves, *Sento at Sixth and Main: Preserving Landmarks of Japanese American Heritage* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).
45. Odo, *Columbia Documentary History*.
46. Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Holt and Company, 1909).
47. Chan, *Asian Americans*; Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
48. Him Mark Lai, *A History Reclaimed: An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Language Materials on the Chinese of America* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1986).
49. Gary Okihiro, *The Columbia Guide to Asian American History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
50. Hyung-chan Kim, *Dictionary of Asian American History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1986). See also his *Asian American Studies: An Annotated Bibliography and Research Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1989).
51. Priscilla Wegars, ed., *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese* (Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing Company, 1993). Wegars is curator of the Asian American Comparative Collection, housed in the Laboratory of Anthropology at University of Idaho, Moscow. See Priscilla Wegars, "Chinese Artifact Illustrations, Terminology, and Selected Bibliography," prepared for the Chinese and Japanese Workshop, Society for Historical Archaeology, Salt Lake City, UT, January 1999; "Japanese Artifact Illustrations, Terminology, and Selected Bibliography," prepared for the Chinese and Japanese Workshop, Society for Historical Archaeology, Salt Lake City, UT, January 1999.
52. This approach is consistent with similar attempts to homogenize other multiple ethnicities into large, single racial groups, such as sub-Saharan Africans and various Hispanics/Latinos. The Office of Management and Budget's Directive Number 15 on Race and Ethnic Standards spells out the federal process. A report on the usage of the directive has since been undertaken and the results led to the recent revamping of census data collection methods to allow for multiple listings under the "race" and "ethnicity" categories. See Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity*, 13; Office of Management and Budget "Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting," (May 12, 1977); and Interagency Committee for the Review of Racial and Ethnic Standards, "Report to the Office of Management and Budget on Statistical Policy Directive Number 15," memorandum (May 28, 1997).
53. See discussion of heterogeneity of Asian American culture and the need to recognize it in "Heterogeneity, Hybridity and Multiplicity: Asian American Differences," in Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*, 60-83. Yen Le Espiritu discusses the dominance of older communities in the formation of a pan-Asian identity; see Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity*, 50-52.